App. F. IX-4

Previous References 1937. Cens.

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Later References.
Cens. 37—39—1.

PRESERVED

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

Serial Nos. 1

Part B for Apr. 1 '40

SUBJECT.

Proceedings of the Conference of Census Superintendents at New Delhi

WD 0578—GPB—22,500—12-9-39

18.4.40

Census. 17-39-1 Gen 468

No. 698
Encl. one

OFFICE OF THE CENSUS SUPERINTENDENT
IN MYSORE,

Dated Bangalore, ...30.th..March..... *194* 0.

FROM

P. H. KRISHNA RAO, ESQ., M.A.,
CENSUS SUPERINTENDENT IN MYSORE,
BANGALORE.

GEN. DEPTT. Govt. of Mysore

1. 940
VT.CF 1/4

OFFICE OF THE SECOND MEMBER OF COUNCIL. 5 APR. 1940 No. 8695

To

The Secretary to Government,
Development Department, Bangalore.

SEC. DEV. DEPT. 3. APR. 1940 GOVT. MYSORE

1-4
Ce 1/4

I have the honour to forward herewith for the information of Government, a copy of the proceedings of the conference of Census Superintendents held at New Delhi from the 20th to 22nd February 1940.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Census Superintendent.

Submitted for perusal. Ce
B/4 2/4.
Dev Sec) 2/4
2nd. Mbr)
Ce 4/4
B/4/4
GEN. SEC.

Minutes of the proceedings of the Census Conference held on the 20th to 22nd February 1940

Tuesday, the 20th February, 1940

(First day.)

All members were present when the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell opened the proceedings by a speech reproduced below.

Gentlemen,

This Conference marks the beginning of real activity in the enterprise to which you have set your hand, and I therefore wished to meet you at the outset in order to wish success to your labours and to tell you of the great interest with which the Government of India will await their outcome. We may all think ourselves fortunate that in the midst of war we here in India are able hopefully to plan for the accomplishment of a great operation of national interest so typical of peace time as the Census. I sincerely hope that it will reach its conclusion in an equally peaceful atmosphere.

As you know the census which you are to put through has had, so far as British India is concerned, its moments of recent anxiety and we are all I think relieved that enumeration is to go ahead and that the great administrative feat represented by the all India census is to continue. Changes in system are contemplated and other developments are in question. This conference is itself an innovation, one on which our Census Commissioner has from the first set great store, since it enables him to bring the Provincial and State Officers into acquaintance and discussion before, instead of after the main work begins.

As we meet today we are looking towards yet another of those great enumerations which have brought India so much credit in the past. They have represented in the truest sense an all-India effort, for all-India has taken part, Governments—central, provincial and State,—and their servants, local bodies of all sorts and private citizens by the lakh. Much depends on how this enumeration goes through, how much provincial and other systems can be employed and, with the maximum of convenience and economy, how much the census can be linked up with continuing features of the national life. I look to you confidently to do your share, and to help to the best of your ability the Census Commissioner in his onerous and responsible task. I now leave you to your work and I trust that you will find this conference in every way helpful and stimulating.

2. *Non-simultaneous enumeration.*—Discussion on non-simultaneous enumeration occupied the whole forenoon and a great variety of useful comment was forthcoming. The Census Commissioner explained the reasons which led to the adoption of the non-simultaneous system and added that while the fetter of a single night had been removed what was envisaged, at any rate as an opening point for discussion, was an enumeration based on the place where an individual is found rather than on his provenance.

It was urged however that usual residence is a circumstance well understood in India and that it would be preferable not to enumerate casual visitors at places where they happened to be but leave them to be recorded by the enumerator of the area of their ordinary residence. The Census Commissioner thought this left an undesirable latitude and opening for error while the past theory and practice of Indian Census would accord better with a system which directed the enumerator to write down the persons found at the time of his visit. Undoubtedly in most cases the enumeration is based on information given by the householder, not on an

individual questioning of every person returned, and inevitably the householder's statement was decisive in regard to the record of persons not seen by the enumerator. This however was a different matter from basing the enumeration system on a theory of normal residence which would lead to many complications in sorting; and in any case an allocation of the population on this basis in tables could not be contemplated. On the other hand, we should make the utmost use of local experiments in methods as well as in the actual tabulation of results. In a country of the size of India, variety of conditions, personnel, etc., were inescapable and the whole object of the new system was to make the fullest convenient use of whatever skills, systems, etc., exist. The dimensions of the country make large scale experiments in methods difficult; but this has enhanced the desirability of smaller experiments wherever practicable.

3. It was suggested that conditions in the east of India would not afford the same experienced and amenable local agencies for enumeration and that therefore a longer period should be given, the figure two months being mentioned. Other provinces were content to abide by the two weeks of the original tentative suggestion. This illustrated the local variety to which the Census Commissioner had referred and this part of the discussion ended with an agreement that each member of the conference should reflect on what in all circumstances would be the desirable minimum period for the enumeration in his province or State, regard being had to the fullest convenient use of existing systems and competent agencies; and the desirability, other things being equal, of having the enumeration within as brief a period as possible. It was pointed out that on the length of the period depended to some extent the amount of statistical provision that would have to be made for adjusting births and deaths to the central date and for prevention *e.g.*, of double enumeration, etc.

4. A substantial body of opinion felt whatever the total period allotted for enumeration it was not desirable that it should extend long after the central date for a variety of reasons among which was the possibility of effacement of the entries and the general consideration that once the central date is passed it was better that the enumeration material should be brought as soon as possible into official custody. It was pointed out however that the matter of deterioration could be met by the supervisor taking over each completed book found satisfactory without waiting for them all to be collected at a single time after the closure of the enumeration period.

5. The non-simultaneous method contemplates a single process, not two distinct stages of preliminary and final as in the past. On the other hand there is nothing to prevent an enumerator who is prepared to make a double round from doing so, or to prevent the fullest use being made of whatever local flexibility and interest suggest. It was suggested that the new system contemplated a progressive check as it were and that therefore while the enumerators could be less, the supervisors should be more. On the other hand doubts were expressed about the advisability of bringing in a large number of supervisors, since often errors, or worse, were rather to be laid to their charge than to that of enumerators. It was generally agreed that whatever competent and convenient agencies existed for supervisors should be used and that no question of restricting this function to revenue staffs arose. In fact it is important that all branches of the administration should be brought in and that everyone as it were should do his bit.

6. Both as regards enumerators and supervisors the effect of the change is not to rule out non-official aid but to alter the emphasis; in the past the restrictions of a one-night system meant that inevitably large numbers of outsiders had to be brought in to fill the cadres, whereas under the new system we start from the other end, *i.e.*, the fullest use is made of existing administrative agencies but to this may be added suitable *and reliable* outside helpers where this is possible and necessary. The Census Commissioner stressed again his desire to make the enumeration as flexible and as expressive of the provincial or State systems as possible. Far from deprecating a certain amount of provincial variety in methods of application, h...

templated such variety as almost the inevitable consequence, if proper use was to be made of existing conditions in order to make the census a painless by-product.

7. It was agreed that the general principle to be adopted in regard to the limited amount of simultaneous enumeration that will have to be carried out, could be that wherever possible wandering tribes, vagrants, etc., should be enumerated within the ordinary blocks. This would reduce the simultaneous enumeration to ships in harbours, hotels, and boat traffic on the larger rivers, and possibly one or two other features which Provincial and State Superintendents will be able to determine. The headman of each wandering tribe so enumerated would be given a pass to prevent any subsequent count of his troop. It is not desirable to have any widespread system of non-enumeration passes, but this would be a very limited feature. So far as hotel residents were concerned the general impression was that persons of this standing ought to be able to avoid a second enumeration without the assistance of a pass. The non-simultaneous system removes of course the difficult features of railway enumeration, fairs or festivals, etc. In the latter case normal enumeration would avoid the particular period affected by the fair aggregation. It obviates also any question of enumeration of troops on the march and the Census Commissioner said that wherever possible he hoped to dispense with statutory rules on particular aspects and bring all these into the general instructions by separate paragraphs.

8. It was suggested that political interests might, if the town and rural enumeration periods differed widely under the system of enumeration of persons actually found, lead to an exodus of interested parties from town to country in order to be enumerated at both places. The point is one of some interest, although it was generally felt that such problems were likely to be of local rather than of general importance and could best be dealt with by the Provincial Superintendent taking such measures as were called for by the particular circumstance of his area. Ordinary considerations would advise completing urban as indeed, any, enumeration in as brief a period as possible.

9. It was suggested that 6 A.M. was not the most suitable time for the simultaneous enumeration or for the reference point of births and deaths. Sunset or sunrise was considered better and more readily intelligible to the enumerating agency. So far as such enumeration is concerned the event is really that of a particular night and it was generally agreed that enumeration should base itself generally on presence on the night before the actual record was made. So far as record of births and deaths was concerned the actual hour chosen is of minor importance and if a term like sunrise or sunset is preferable to the specification of a particular hour then there is no reason why it should not be adopted. Since actual hour of birth is not generally recorded in Indian statistics sunrise would possibly be a better term than 6 A.M.

10. Mr. Lambrick remarked that the preparation of house lists should enable a record to be made of the number of persons present then and this record would be a useful check on any subsequent wide divergences recorded. This point is worthy of serious consideration and application and one of the Census Commissioner's reasons for desiring a continuing house list was precisely to meet this consideration. Whatever local records, etc., in existence indicate, so to speak, the normal population should be consulted.

11. There was some reference to the desirability of intensive training of enumerators. This of course is clearly connected with the possibility of limiting their numbers. It was suggested that an enumerator need not necessarily be allotted a particular number of houses but simply a certain local region. These are really matters for local decision, bearing in mind the desirability of making as full and flexible use as possible of local agency.

12. *Village statistics.*—The Conference re-assembled at 2-30. The Census Commissioner said that he would like the possibilities of developing village statistics to be investigated and the incorporation in them of signi-

ficant local details such as market days, festivals, particular manufactures or industries, and any other items of note. Early consideration was necessary because under a hand-sorting system it was necessary to know in advance what village statistics would be produced, if full advantage was to be taken of sorting economy. Moreover, the collection of local details, as distinct from population features, could usefully be done at the time of preparation of the house-list. It would be necessary for Provincial Governments to pay for the production of these village statistics but the amount involved was not great and the convenience and value were pronounced. A copy of a typical volume of Madras village statistics was handed round and Baroda and Hyderabad representatives gave instances of the practice of their States in this useful direction.

13. The Census Commissioner said that he would like all possibilities to be considered of securing the continuation on even a small scale and the upkeep of this village detail as a first step towards a regular maintenance of population and connected detail as distinct from the periodical convultions of the census. There were doubts expressed as to the practicability of this but the point was really one, as he explained, put before them for consideration. The decision on practicability might be adverse but it was desirable to get new possibilities into the region of discussion; it was by such methods that advances and improvements were secured.

14. *Cattle census.*—The Census Commissioner said he had often thought that details of animal population in a village might easily be secured at the time of the population census. He had had discussions on this point with the Mysore Superintendent in January and Mr. Krishna Rao informed the conference that the Mysore Government had decided to take a census of cattle along with the population census. This was a most valuable experiment in methods and the Census Commissioner hoped that it might lead to a greater rationalisation of the whole system of collecting this kind of information.

15. *Urban classification.*—The matter of urban classification then came under discussion. The real point of difficulty was agreed to lie in the varying application of the category 'municipality'. It was agreed that while all units could proceed as in the past, they should, in addition, extract this time an urban-rural ratio based on the population of places with 5,000 population or more appearing in the list of towns. These ratios would form an interesting subject for Provincial and State comparison.

16. *Vital statistics.*—Dr. Raja, Assistant Public Health Commissioner, then gave an address to the conference on vital statistics and the methods in which the census operations might be used in order to facilitate special enquiries and incidentally produce other information of value to the census. The substance of his recommendations is given in the appendix. In the discussion that followed it was generally agreed that where health-units existed it might be possible to secure the kind of check on age determination suggested by Dr. Raja, while, in general, the feeling was that subject to the Provincial Superintendents having final discretion as to the degree of any such association and the inception or conduct of any such special enquiries, every possibility of exploring new ground by using organisations with special knowledge or contacts should be adopted.

17. The Census Commissioner remarked that in his view the approach to vital statistics in this country could be sensibly improved. There was too much reliance on outside agencies or on compulsion; for when it was a matter of a poor man losing a day's pay or at any rate being put to considerable difficulty in getting a report through to the proper quarter, it was no use making him technically punishable for the default. He himself would prefer a different approach, namely, to make it as easy as possible for the parent to make the report and to do everything possible to arouse in parents' minds that a birth certificate was an excellent thing. Once the parents of India are convinced that their children must have a birth certificate, they will give the authorities no peace till they get it. Whatever census officers could do to help on such new approach would be of great value.

Wednesday, the 21st February, 1940.

(Second day.)

Enumeration pad and problems connected with it.—The Conference opened this morning at 10-15. The whole morning was occupied by a discussion of the enumeration pad and problems connected with it. The Census Commissioner explained the reasons leading to the form and contents of the pad, the need for economy, the inability to be sure of coloured paper in the quantities desired, the variation of Indian language and a desire to save as much as possible the scriptory labour imposed on the enumerator, particularly in the matter of recording repeating or even constant details such as charge and circle number. He mentioned a letter he had just received from the Controller of Printing and Stationery, with whom he had been in touch for some time over the details relating to the pad, which apparently implied that unless the rotary presses at the Government of India Press in Calcutta could be used it would not be possible to handle the whole job and that for economic use of the rotary press straight runs of one or two million were desirable. He will have a further discussion with the Controller when that officer returns to Delhi in the near future and had arranged with Mr. Dutch to see him in the interim when he returns to Calcutta after the conference; but provisionally the alternatives seem to be either breaking up the printing between provincial presses or restricting the code detail imposed by the press to the first two elements.

2 He explained that in his negotiations with the Controller he had been enabled to secure a discretion for Provincial Superintendents in regard to all printing other than that of the pads subject to calling for tenders and submission of bills for counter-signature before audit. Distribution of the printing of pads might affect this arrangement, which he was most reluctant to disturb as it promised to introduce flexibility precisely where it was necessary. Consequently it became important to know whether in the event of printed local detail being limited to tahsil, it would be possible to impose either by the enumerator or other local agency, the charge and circle detail. He pointed out that this detail would *ex-hypothesi* be invariable for any particular enumerator. After some discussion in which the Census Commissioner emphasised that there was no necessity for provincial uniformity of method provided the object, *i.e.*, local detail on each slip, was secured, the conference concluded that such application by local agency was practicable.

It was suggested that the local detail might be applied by a rubber stamp and the Census Commissioner thought that even a date stamp could be used for this purpose. In any case the objective was clear and methods could be varied to suit local convenience. He emphasised again the importance of securing wherever possible, experimentation in methods as an important element in making the best advantage of the census period.

3. Mr. Lambrick said that Urdu enumerators would write everything from right to left but when it was explained that it did not really matter on which side of the code number the charge and circle details were applied, in the event of the enumerator having to do so, he agreed that this circumstance did not rule out the use of the uniform pad in such areas. It was agreed however that certain minor modifications might be made in order to avoid the possibility of confusion on account of this circumstance and consequently,—

(i) the letters y and m will be omitted in the age rectangle,

(ii) (a) and (b) against question 11 will each be shifted along in order to permit of the answer being written on either side.

4. It was considered desirable to have the house number on every slip, although this meant an extra piece of writing by the enumerator, since it would facilitate check. It was agreed that an asterisk should be printed on the form above the 1 of question No. 1 and that against this asterisk should be entered the house number and the enumerator's letter as A./45.

5. It was suggested that enumerators might prefer to write the village name in full and in various ways prefer to avoid the use of symbols and contractions. The Census Commissioner said that whereas there was no compulsion for such practice and a provincial discretion in method had always been contemplated, he did desire these departures at least to be given a trial in suitable areas. He felt difficulty in believing that men of average intelligence, such as the bulk of enumerators could reasonably be considered to be, were incapable of applying a new idea. This did them less than justice and it was at least necessary to make a trial; unless an attempt was made the capacity could never be determined. He wished therefore the trial to be made although he was prepared to accept provincial officers' discretion as to the extent over which it should be tried.

6. Mr. Mazhar Hussain suggested that it was desirable to make some positive entry for sex in addition to the provision for cutting off the corner. This suggestion found approval and the Census Commissioner commented that it accorded with the sound general principle that the enumerator should have to do something at each question. Consequently whenever a man is enumerated, the enumerator will be directed to enter the initial letter of the word for male, *i.e.*, 'm' or the corresponding letter in an Indian language, in the bottom right hand corner. Where a female is concerned it is a question either of cutting the corner or entering the initial letter for "female", *i.e.*, 'f', etc., in the same place. It is not necessary or desirable to do both; which is chosen could be left to local discretion. Some doubts were expressed as to the enumerators' capacity to tear off the corner neatly or even accurately. The Census Commissioner stated that he wished at any rate this experiment tried. If successful this method would produce from the outset differently shaped tickets; but again he did not insist on universal application if a Provincial Superintendent in due discretion decided otherwise but he would like it tried out, because unless a trial is made the capacity in this direction can never be anything beyond an assertion or denial. Incidentally the word "tear" should be replaced by "cut"; it is desirable to avoid any invitation to carelessness.

7. Mr. Lambrick asked whether there would be any objection to the enumerator reserving books for Hindu or Muslim enumeration as this would introduce a useful sorting element from the beginning. He admitted that it seemed likely to involve wastage of slips. The Census Commissioner said he had in mind something of this sort in the original design for pads but that difficulties of indent had arisen and the major difficulty about coloured paper had really settled the issue.

8. The larger the block, he thought, proportionately the less would be the wastage of slips. He contemplated that the wastage of slips can be reduced by supervisors removing from a finished book of one enumerator unused slips which could be allotted to another. It was important that no enumerator should in any circumstances remove a slip from a book but there is no reason why a responsible supervisor should not in the need arising do so; though even here it should be regarded as a process to be done with care and check of numbers. On the other hand, he was here as always in favour of experiments in methods. These had been too limited in the past and this particular experiment if carried out would be of great interest and value. The enumerator could affix a green label to a book reserved for Muslims and if any slips remained unused these could either be removed by the supervisor as suggested above or would remain in the book, the book itself remaining as a whole Muslim.

One point of interest here is that such a system is applicable only to a two-way division, *i.e.*, major community and others, since obviously it would not be possible to allot books to minor communities such as Christians, Parsees, Jains, etc.

9. The Census Commissioner then described the system of indent and the two forms, copies of which were provided for each officer using the system. It was suggested that not all provinces, *e.g.*, North-West Frontier

and binding and possibly in freight. With bigger blocks and the provision for transferring slips he mentioned, he had contemplated the 100 book as adequate and the general feeling of the conference supported this.

14. It was suggested that a blank sheet over the front of each pad would help to protect the top of the pad and could be used for local entries or provisional summaries, etc. This point will be considered.

15. The Census Commissioner explained the contemplated system of distribution, *i.e.*, by his own agency under the supervision of Mr. Dutch, despatching direct to tahsil headquarters in bundles of 1 maund or approximately 8 circles. A certain uniformity of size of circles has obvious benefits here. It was agreed that these should be sent carriage paid as it would facilitate the taking of delivery at tahsil headquarters.

16. *Local Printing.*—On the matter of printing Mr. Sahay asked about the position of Government Presses. In certain cases it might be convenient or even essential to use these presses but on the other hand they do not offer tenders and therefore could not come within the scope of the arrangement between the Census Commissioner and the Controller of Printing. The Census Commissioner agreed to take this point up with the Controller and arrive if possible at an agreement that where it was essential or highly advisable that local Government Presses should be used, this might be done. The Census Commissioner remarked that where a local Government Press does not charge the Government of India a differential rate, such an agreement was more likely to be forthcoming.

17. *Code, Circulars and Instructions.*—The Census Commissioner explained that in his view instructions from the centre to the provinces, or for that matter from Provincial Superintendents down to enumerators, should be kept to a minimum. The printed word was apt to be taken literally when the executive agent was at a great distance from the source of instructions. He thought that we should do everything we can to encourage the realisation in the enumerator of what is after all the fact that we are relying on him to apply his own intelligence and local knowledge to secure this information. For this reason he did not contemplate sending out a formal code from the centre or statutory rules for particular phenomena such as defence forces, etc., unless these are unavoidable. He would prefer to issue as it were a sequel to his original "General Scheme" for the census, covering all the points on which policy and interpretation were involved and leave it to provinces to determine the detailed methods of application. After all, enumeration was a local phenomenon, a field process, and to get the best results in the field the men engaged in the struggle should have as much discretion on tactics as possible. Objectives are determined so to speak by the high command; tactics are a matter of local and varied circumstance.

18. *States and Enumeration pads.*—Capt. Wreford asked whether States would be covered by the pad system. The Census Commissioner said that he had gone on the assumption that the larger States which in the past had made their own arrangements would continue to do so. But if a State desired to enter this system a definite application would be required and a consultation with the Controller of Printing. The dimensions of the job are already very large. Unless therefore Kashmir or the other larger States apply to come within this scheme he would go on the above assumption.

19. *Size of house list and booklet of instructions.*—Mr. Mukherjea suggested that the house-list should be made into the same size as the enumeration pad and the contemplated booklet of instructions for which the Census Commissioner had suggested octavo size. It was agreed that the enumerator would probably take the house-lists round with him but the form of this did not seem necessarily to depend on that of the enumeration pad.

20. *Questions.*—The Conference met at the C. C.'s house at 5·30, and sat till 8·15, the subject of discussion being the list of questions proposed.'

Province, Orissa and Sind, would have districts going above 8 or less but the Census Commissioner said this had been understood from the outset and that this would not affect the dimensions of the run. He added that United Provinces' large number of districts would have to be provided for in the code key by an extra typed sheet but that the pads would be run off even for these higher district code numbers.

10. The Census Commissioner explained the flexibility of the code system. In essence this is an identifying detail. A great majority of code entries will have a local translation in every province or State using the system. Where a large number of small States are concerned it would be the function of the Superintendent to group these into a system corresponding more or less in dimensions to the divisions of an average British district, tahsil, etc. For example he suggested that the Central India States could probably be usefully treated by regarding each individual agency as a district. The code number within that area will identify the State or portion of the State in question. On the other hand it will be possible also for exceptional districts in size like Mymensingh to take two headings in the first item of the code, if convenience indicates accordingly. It is important to remember that although for convenience of description the words "district" and "tahsil" have been applied to the first two elements, it is the code itself rather than the particular nature of the application given to it that is the primary phenomenon, *i.e.*, one decides the system of differentiation and then applies existing administrative details to suit it.

11. There was a good deal of discussion about the need for practice. The Census Commissioner said that he thought past practice of doing the entire enumeration in rough beforehand arose from the circumstance of the former system when a complete record had to be carried round in the course of one night and alterations, etc., were to be made in it, particularly when one had in mind the rush afterwards for provisional totals. There was also the fact that in the past Provincial Superintendents had joined duty and been plunged at once into the thick of preparations against time, with a natural tendency to go on past practice. He found it difficult to believe that the average enumerator would not acquire after a certain amount of practice a considerable degree of facility in handling these pads. He contemplated thorough training practice beforehand and further practice afterwards if necessary on the first sheets of the pad itself. It is possible to practise these entries on any kind of paper, provided the numbers are written down. Any practice entries in the actual pad would be examined by the Supervisor or other training agency and could then be cancelled by a blue line or other device under the Supervisor's initials. The first entry of the actual enumeration would go below the last cancelled practice entry. These practice sheets should not be torn off as they would act as protection over the first pukka entry.

12. On the matter of indent, the Census Commissioner said the provinces in their indents should apply previous population *plus* say 15 per cent. increase *plus* such allowances for waste as seemed reasonable. It was important not to make a too large provision at the outset because this would not tend towards economical use but the reverse. It would be far better to make the indent on the basis given, *i.e.*, 15 per cent. increase in population *plus* one pad per circle or possibly 2, and rely on training and confidence to make the best use of the material. As a last resort a Provincial Superintendent could always, such was the simplicity of the pad, borrow from another area or have a few extra struck off. This would have to be carefully supervised and intimated to the Census Commissioner, but such a method was more likely to enforce economy than profuse indents at the outset.

13. It was suggested that smaller pads of 50, should be made or pads of two sizes, 100 and 50 respectively. The Census Commissioner explained that the latter practice would break into the quick run which was essential for the press, while the former would lead to more expense in the backing

Question 1 called for no comment and 2 had already come under discussion. The vexed point of the Community question came in for a thorough and prolonged examination. The Census Commissioner said that in his opinion tabulation of Indian castes on any complete scale was out of question from the point of view of cost, even if it was practicable on other grounds apart from the main branches such as Brahmins, on account of the wide variations in nomenclature observable on every hand. In any case, the census was a large-scale blunt instrument and had done all it could ever really produce in the direction of caste study and it was desirable that limited funds should not be lightly expended on unnecessary objects. Strong desire was expressed from the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab and Sind for a record of Muslim tribe and it was remarked that any treatment of certain internal question depended on tribal populations. The Census Commissioner said that no tabulation could really contemplate more than broad lines—*e.g.*, Brahmanic Hindu, other Hindu, scheduled castes and primitive tribes, on the non-Muslim side and asked whether the community question could be put on these lines—Brahmins, non-Brahmins, etc. The general view was that such a question would be misunderstood and lead to difficulties.

Another point sponsored by Bihar concerned the tribal areas, *viz.*, if no specification of tribe was taken the tribal position would be completely swamped and disappear under the term 'Hindu'. This was admitted as a genuine point. The Census Commissioner asked whether the question of religion could be omitted, since in that case a straightforward caste or tribe query could be used, the caste answers being tabulated to give the Hindu total, the tribe returns giving the tribal total and so on; in such a situation there would be no religion returns to mask or give scope for dispute regarding the true tribal figures. This was admitted, but the general opinion was that the omission to ask the question about religion would be misunderstood. In the result, therefore, the Census Commissioner said that with reluctance he would have to recommend to the Government of India to ask two questions—(1) race, tribe or caste and (2) religion. But that he would couple with this a condition that there was no contemplation of a tabulation of individual caste and that the form of question was being adopted merely as an administrative measure to facilitate the extraction of detail otherwise required. It was suggested that Provincial Superintendents might make use of the same argument to discourage the wearisome screeds that afflict every census officer about this caste question.

21. *Question 5—Civil Condition.*—The Census Commissioner explained the theory of the symbols; *i.e.*, for an unmarried person nothing has happened, therefore, a 0 is put; for a married person something has happened, hence a √ ; for a widowed person the happening has been cancelled and no longer exists, hence a ×; while for the divorced person any distinctive symbol, preferably the first letter of the word 'divorce' would be understood. This was generally agreed to.

22. *Question 6—Age.*—It was suggested that where a child's age, of less than one year, was given in months the figure might be mistaken for years and it was agreed that in such cases the figure zero should be entered for years. In other words, there should invariably be an entry for years whether that was a zero or a positive figure. It was suggested that *shishu* might be inserted for ages below six months but it is preferable that since in such cases the number of months is probably known, this figure should be entered with, of course, a zero for the years.

23. *Questions 7 and 8, i.e.—Age of mother at birth of first child and number of children.*—It was agreed that the order of these might be reversed : consequently Question 7 will now be "Number of children born to a married woman" and No. 8 "Her age at birth of her first child"

Question 7.—It was agreed that the number of surviving children should be asked and entered in brackets after the total number given in response to the question.

Question 8.—It was suggested that the sex of the first child born should be ascertained. It was agreed that this could possibly be done but that the value of the answers would depend upon a return of the sex of the other children. It was the general opinion that this latter point could not be elicited in practice and consequently it was not necessary to proceed with the suggestion about the sex of the first child.

24. A decision on this point had been prefaced by a considerable general discussion in which the Census Commissioner had explained that in his view matters of this sort ought to be a feature of the ordinary registration of births and that he hoped by means of this census departure to put across the consciousness of this lack. Undoubtedly a single census determination could not take the place of a continuing series of regularly appearing data but it would represent at least the appearance of some information in a field that hitherto was entirely blank. He was not prepared to contemplate an optional enquiry. It was either a matter of putting it among the regular questions or dropping it altogether. If any reasonable simple treatment was to be possible the original net must be thrown wide and advantage taken of the momentum as it were of the census enquiry. Mr. Lambrick said that it would be useful if for explanation to enumerators they could have a brief indication of why this information was sought in the census and the Census Commissioner promised that this would be given. He explained that if *e.g.*, in the N. W. F. P. it was felt that either or both questions could not safely be asked he would regret such a decision and doubt its wisdom, but as a practical measure it could be given effect to merely by saying in the instructions to the enumerators in that province or area that question so and so need not be asked. This is one of the illustrations of the flexibility of the new pad system.

25. *Question 9.*—There was some doubt expressed as to the practicability or desirability of this question, and some reference to the word "earner". The Census Commissioner explained that his approach in this question has been deliberately from the dependent point of view, the word 'earner' being extremely difficult of explanation and definition to an enumerator. He attached some importance to retaining the concept of a person partially dependent since he felt that this type of contributor to the resources of Indian households might be much more numerous than was realised. In any case he suggested that unless new methods and new approaches were tried their efficacy or value could never be tested. Undoubtedly there would be difficulties of interpretation, but this applied to every census question and every census officer could be sure that hypothetical conundrums would pursue him up to the very enumeration moment. It was important, he felt, to develop in the enumerator an appreciation and acceptance of the fact that reliance in the last resort was on his understanding, local knowledge, and experience to bring in the information. It was suggested that the question might relate solely to adults but on further discussion this was dropped. Mr. Marar, for example, brought out the fact that children in Assam contributed substantially to the family income. It was decided that the definition of a partially dependent should be "someone who contributes in cash or kind towards the support of the household without being definitely capable of supporting himself." It was suggested that contributions in labour might also come in but the general opinion of the Conference, after some discussion, was against this. It was agreed that the answers to this question should be: √ meaning wholly dependent, 'P' (or corresponding initial letter of the Indian word for 'partly') to represent partly dependent, anr a cross to represent not dependent at all.

26. *Question 10.*—It was generally accepted as a desirable feature.

27. *Question 11.*—This also came in for some criticism but the final outcome was a general approval of this as a new departure which might prove of considerable value and so in any case worth trying. The Census Commissioner pointed out that the answers to (b) in this question would

bring in the idea of labour contribution. In discussion instead of 'members of family' it was agreed that 'members of household' might produce a more clear understanding of the point at issue.

28. *Questions 12 and 13.*—Here again there was a certain amount of doubt but the Census Commissioner explained that there was a great deal not known about the true dimensions of unemployment in India and the census was being regularly called on for help. We could not help unless we tried and this was one approach contemplated. The questions were simple and the concept involved such as an enumerator could understand. It was essential anywhere, but above all in a question of this sort, not to burden the enumerator with *quasi*-technical definitions. He explained that the reference to the last week of February was in order to exclude the casual labourer, whose presence in any such return would undoubtedly cause difficulties or vitiate it altogether. He pointed out the importance of the fact of active search or at least desire for work and the final conclusion was that the questions should be as follows:—

Question 12.—Are you in employment now? (Affirmative answer √ and negative answer ×).

Question 13.—(Only to those who reply in the negative to Question 12).

Are you in search of employment? To those who reply in the affirmative the further question will be put—How long have you been in search of it?

29. *Question 14.*—It aroused little comment. At first it was suggested that the means of livelihood might be restricted to two—principal and subsidiary; but the final opinion was that it was better to leave it in the simple form stated for the enumerator to put down the answers given.

30. *Question 15.*—Undoubtedly the majority of occupations or means of livelihood would be regular in the sense that they will operate throughout the year but it is precisely with regard to the non-regular employments that it is desirable to see if the census can be used to throw further light on a very obscure problem. It was agreed that agricultural means of livelihood should be treated as regular and an instruction might be given to this effect. The question itself should be restricted to a subsidiary means of livelihood or that of a person shown as partially dependent in reply to question 9. The full instruction and question should run. "Question 15 (only to be asked in regard to means of livelihood of a person shown as partly dependent against 9 or any subsidiary means of livelihood returned by other persons in 14.) Does this means of livelihood exist throughout the year? If not, for what part of the year?"

Thursday, the 22nd February, 1940.

(Third day.)

The conference resumed at 10-15 A.M. All members were present.

2. The discussion of the list of questions was continued.

3. *Question No. 16.*—The Census Commissioner explained that the object of this question was to see whether an approach can be made through the census to the question of associated or organised employment. At the 1931 census a formal question had appeared relating to "Organised industry"; the returns to this had not been tabulated owing to the need for economy but in any case were probably not worth tabulating, such was the difficulty in getting this concept across to the ordinary enumerator. His approach this time had been to put the question in the simplest of terms which the ordinary enumerator could be expected to understand, keep him as free as possible from complicated definitions, and then try to exercise our selection at the abstraction stage. He added that only remunerated employment was in question and indeed the remuneration could be restricted to cash remuneration.

4. It was suggested that the use of the word 'employer' and his business might lead to omission to record employment by a company etc. The form of question could easily be expanded to meet this. Thus "If you are employed for cash remuneration what is your employer's business?" The instructions could of course point out that the word employer covered a company etc., and the general feeling was that the original form of the question might be left, with an explanatory entry in the instructions.

5. There was a variety of discussion on this question, many hypothetical conundrums being evolved with that readiness which attaches inevitably to the discussion of census questionnaires in every country. The Census Commissioner explained that he did not contemplate any treatment of domestic service or agriculture in the returns to this question, and the opinion was expressed that these two might be excluded from the beginning. On the other hand it would probably be simplest for the enumerator to ask the question and record the answer, untroubled by considerations of what he has to exclude all necessary treatment being done at the abstraction stage. On the other hand, on a final reflection in view of the large number of agricultural and domestic service returns that may be expected, it would probably on the whole save the enumerators trouble if we tell him from the first in the instructions that this question need not be put in regard to occupations of domestic service or agriculture.

6. *Question No. 17.*—The suggestion was made that in order to bring the use of a √ into exact equivalence with 'Yes' the question should be in the form "Were you born in this district? If not, in what district?" with the instruction that where districts outside the province were given the province or country should be named. The Census Commissioner explained that even if we do not proceed to tabulate on the basis of particular districts within the province or State, it was a convenience to have the question in this form; since over 90 per cent of the inhabitants of most districts have been born within it, this form of question will enable the enumerator to record the answer in over 90 per cent., of the cases by the quickest possible method, *viz.*, a √. If a man admits to have been born within the district of enumeration, he has *a fortiori* been born within the province or State.

7. *Question No. 18.*—The necessity for this question and the use of the term mother tongue was generally accepted.

8. *Question No. 19.*—The Census Commissioner explained the reasons for the prescription of Indian languages in common use, since the last census had shown an unfortunate tendency to produce in answer to this question the record of linguistic attainments of no importance in the life of the region. He explained that the object of this question was not to investigate individual knowledge, but the facts of ordinary life in the particular region. Hence the importance of the words "in common use"; it would not be enough to say "known" or "spoken", since neither of these terms would bring out the essential criterion. On the frontiers of India it may quite easily be the case that a non-Indian language is in common use and in such regions this fact should of course be brought out. This is a matter for the Superintendent concerned to arrange in his instructions and is one indication of the need for flexibility in these to permit of genuine local information finding expression. The particular circumstance that prompted this topic was the presence of Persian in common use in Baluchistan but there may quite possibly be similar features on other land frontiers of India.

9. *Question No. 20.*—It was agreed that the general literacy question might precede that on the standard reached. The Census Commissioner explained that the reasons for the original choice had been to make the best use of the limited space on the card but he thought that the dotted rectangle against 21 would probably permit of the entry of a standard, examination, etc and he accepted the proposal.

He explained the reasons for the query about script of literacy and the need for this in relation to Hindustani was generally admitted. Indeed other cases of parallel scripts were cited and the answers to this question may provide matter of some interest The Census Commissioner had thought of framing the question "Are you literate in your mother tongue?", in order to facilitate the greatest possible use of the √ as a reply; but if the script is to come in this would lead to certain awkward points in subsequent questioning and it was agreed that the final form of question should be in the simplest possible language "Can you both read and write? If so what script do you write? Can you only read?"

Mr. Mukherjea proposed that the Baroda practice of recording the number of persons who could only read might be adopted. The conference found some merit in the suggestion which was finally approved. The instruction to enumerators will therefore be to record the ability to read and write by the name of the script written, ability to read only by 'P' or the first syllable of the local word for 'partly', and for inability either to read or write by a × .

10. *Question No. 21.*—The Census Commissioner explained that one object of this question, not the only one, was to see if, when used with the answers to questions 12 and 13 some light might be forthcoming on what is known as educated unemployment. The question in itself however may be of interest apart from that consideration. It was desirable to get the question in as simple a form as possible compatible with exactness and to cope with the general practice of using such phrases as "upto". The suggestion was made that anything below Primary should be recorded by a × but the final opinion was in favour of leaving the enumerator to record the answers and deciding at the time of abstraction on the minimum for treatment in the tables. The question will therefore run in the simplest possible language "How far have you read? Give any examination passed

11. *Question No. 22.*—There was little comment on English literacy. It was generally agreed that it was not desirable in this question to attempt to record ability only to read.

12. *Non-Simultaneous enumeration (further discussions).*—Discussion then resumed on the matter of non-simultaneous enumeration. The interim for reflection had produced a variety of views on the part of Provincial and State Superintendents. The Census Commissioner explained that the original intention or rather the suggestion put before the conference as the basis for discussion was a short run-through in as quick a time as possible; *i.e.*, while shedding the fetter of a single night there would be as little dispersion in time as possible. Any substantial period taken over enumeration would alter the position appreciably. He emphasised that the standard of enumeration was important, indeed fundamental, and that this should not be sacrificed to speed; if the straight run-through was feasible only by substantial importation of unreliable enumerators then a different method must be pursued. He had hoped that at least in some parts of India, local conditions freed of the one night fetter, might permit of a greater resort to the run-through method but would not force this against the considered opinion of the officers who had to conduct the actual enumeration. It was in order to give the Superintendents who would have to put over the actual enumeration full time to reflect that he had deliberately put the discussion of this topic into two parts on different days.

13. Bihar thought that with the type of enumeration agency available there a substantial period would be necessary, extending to about six weeks. Similar conditions obtained in Bengal although the Superintendent did not think so long a period would be required there. The Sind Superintendent pressed for a complete *de jure* system. He said there was the possibility in Sind, in a non-simultaneous system not limited to one or two days, of extensive gerrymandering by bodies of people going from one place to another ahead of the enumerators and thus getting themselves recorded in

several places. He would prefer a system whereby the normal population was recorded and at the enumeration casual visitors found would not be recorded. This system made the house-list a much more important feature and indeed it would be necessary to enter a record of community when it was taken. Nor would it provide for the enumeration of genuine non-Sindhi visitors to the province apart from such as might be discovered in hotels or ships. And finally an enormous reliance was reposed on the trustworthiness of the enumerators.

North-West Frontier Province and Rajputana were prepared to try the run-through system. Most of the others contemplated a period of 10 days for a first round followed by a few days check after the 1st March for entry of births and deaths, etc.

14. The Census Commissioner said that three broad types seemed to have emerged.

1. A more or less strictly *de jure* system;
2. Enumeration spread over a week to 10 days with a subsequent check, and
3. A quick run-through.

The matter was one of great importance and he would not require officers to give a positive declaration on this occasion but would ask them to go and think carefully over all that had been said and let him know their conclusions. He pointed out that he had always thought the triple round of previous practice wasteful and unsound and would much rather see concentrated attention given to practice and training beforehand. Check during actual enumeration could never be really 100 per cent. or anything like it and what he would like to envisage would be the thorough prior training of enumerators in actual facility and, very important in a census, the development in them of responsibility and consciousness that they were being relied on as citizens of knowledge and experience to produce certain results. Undoubtedly the run-through system contemplated such an agency and such a course of training. In the circumstance of India, with enormous varieties of climatic conditions and administrative circumstances he could see no reason against a certain variation in methods for so vast an operation as the census, and indeed every reason in favour of it; if, as he felt, enumeration was essentially and must remain a Provincial or State phenomenon and if, as he felt strongly, it was essential to articulate the census to the greatest possible degree with the normal functioning of the Provincial or State administrations, then it followed that the enumeration system must be expressed so to speak in terms of the provincial life; and that, given the wide variety of provincial conditions in the country, almost presupposed a variety of enumeration systems once an all-India rigidity was given up.

15. On the period taken for the count depend such matters as the treatment of the moving population. On a straight run-through limited to two or three days it would be enough broadly speaking to enumerate the population found at each household along with a simultaneous record at the middle of the period, of hotel and boat and similar populations already referred to. Where the period extends to a week or more it will be necessary when making the round to ask particularly about persons expected to arrive within the period fixed for the round and to take particular care regarding double enumeration. In this system the final check would be a matter of births and deaths not the old *de facto* method of entering every change.

The Census Commissioner remarked that the logical way to take the census was to arrange that on the fixed date, no one should leave his house until he had been enumerated. Something on this line was he believed done in Turkey. This would meet such conundrums as that brought up in regard to Sind. Mr. Mukherjea said it might be possible to contemplate a District

Magistrate's order and the point was of some interest. The Census Commissioner said if it were possible to try this anywhere he would personally welcome the experiment.

16. With regard to the possible corruption in Sind referred to by the Superintendent more than one officer pointed out that if a body of people were determined to cheat there was no absolute method of prevention and for example the enumerators under the proposed *de jure* system if got at, could in their original round on which so much would depend, enter bogus names. The house list therefore would have to be a most careful and searching performance, with a very high degree and quality of supervision. The Census Commissioner declared that any census anywhere needed like a quarrel two parties to make it, (1) the census authorities, (2) the people themselves. If the second party did not play its part then no genuine census was possible and he would be prepared in the event of corrupt methods being proved or strongly suspected, to declare publicly that the census record in the area concerned was unreliable. If this intention were well known it might discourage attempts of the kind feared in Sind. In any case on general principles it was advisable to take this ground from the beginning, namely, that what really every community wants is a genuine record, since the existence of suspicion is itself the cause of recrimination and agitation.

17. Mr. Elwin remarked that he also was inclined to favour the kind of system contemplated for Sind. Each officer was asked to give his opinion and the discussion closed with the Census Commissioner remarking that in a matter like this he would not require officers to pronounce at once but would expect to have their considered views in due course.

18. *House list.*—The Conference then turned to the other items awaiting discussion, house-list preparation, etc. The family aspect desired contemplates the record of the number of adult males and females and male and female children. This would be a most useful accompaniment to any census as a guide to dimensions and a check of such activities as those feared in Sind. It was desirable, if this list was prepared, to make the best use of the labour and time spent in its preparation by obtaining detail which could be readily seen and recorded, *e.g.*, the nature of walls and roof. The definition of a room was more difficult. Mysore intends to do this on a feet by feet basis. It was suggested that partitions in India often did not reach to the roof and thus the League of Nations' definition would not apply. The Census Commissioner explained that this definition was given as a guide for reflection and principle; the criterion was a distinct accommodation of such a size that a person could lie down in it in two directions. Where it was possible to get a line on this point he would be glad if it could be done. It is true that a large number of habitations in India only have one room but in that case the answer is obvious.

The number of shops has been noted in the past also but not hitherto tabulated. On this occasion this feature might be studied somewhere: the Economic Adviser for example took considerable interest in it.

19. As far as possible Provincial Governments' staff who prepare the house lists should be encouraged to use their own paper, as was done in many areas in the past. C. P. was contemplating recording these house details on slips for convenience of subsequent sorting, or at any rate experimenting with such a process. The Census Commissioner said there was no objection whatever to this and the results may be of considerable interest. Here, as in other regions, the guiding principle was really to bring out all information of value, but unless it was recorded it could never be presented and when the village officers, etc., were making an inspection of houses in any case one might as well see what could be extracted.

20. *Village, Map.*—The Superintendent, N.-W. F. P. contemplates preparing a village map instead of the house list. This represents experiment in the second of the directions indicated in the Census Commissioner's general scheme for the census. The house list represents a substantial effort

of time and labour and if it is to be made, why not try to achieve its continuation so that it will not be necessary to do it all over again every ten years; or if such permanence is impossible why not see if a simpler method cannot be devised to secure our census aim? *Prima facie* there are some advantages in a permanent house list particularly if the numbers attached to the houses also remain permanent and numbers or names could be given to streets. Thus we might see our census numbers and street numbers or names becoming the postal addresses which are so markedly lacking over rural India.

21. *Street dwellers.*—In the more temperate parts of the country there exists a distinct phenomenon of the street-dweller, *i.e.*, a person who is not a vagrant or a sadhu, etc., but an ordinary citizen, come to a city or town for labour, often accompanied by his wife and even children and actually living in the streets or sidewalks. It might be interesting to see what the actual dimensions of this phenomenon are.

22. *State/Province association.*—In a brief discussion on the importance of State/Province or Province/Province association in census matters, the Census Commissioner said that he looked on the census as primarily a social rather than a political effort, and where convenience or efficiency or economy indicated a degree of association beyond the political-boundary he thought such possibilities should always be followed up. The fertility enquiries for example would probably be based on what might be termed sub-nationality in India, *i.e.*, Malayalam, Kanarese, etc., etc., and instead of *e.g.*, the Madras Superintendent studying this feature for all the four major peoples within his area he in association with his neighbours could probably arrange for each officer to concentrate on one, while helping the others with any local detail from his area which they might need. Similar possibilities seem to offer themselves as between, *e.g.*, Baroda and Bombay, Bengal and Assam, etc. One of his objects in calling the conference had been to establish personal contacts at the outset in order that these possibilities of association might have an early and favourable start. He had no intention at this stage of laying down what should be the actual topics so handled; his object was to impress the desirability of this association on the conference.

23. *Samples.*—In discussing samples he explained that the term had a technical and statistical use as well as a general and illustrative one. Where a strict statistical sample was in question great care should be taken to check the conditions of origin of the sample. The large scale offered by a common original question put to every person in the country offered a very useful starting ground for sampling in various topics but where a different approach on a selective basis from the start was contemplated it might be better to use such terms as "type-study" to indicate what was really pursued.

24. In a brief concluding discussion a few matters of administrative detail *e.g.*, Mr. Mukherjea's suggestion that Census Superintendents might be given free passes on railways when on census work, were referred to and the Census Commissioner stressed the importance of economy. It was essential if the full value was to be extracted from the operations, that every possibility of economy should be followed up.

25. In concluding the conference the Census Commissioner expressed his pleasure at having met Provincial and State Officers and for having been able to go so thoroughly with them into the many difficult points that arise in connection with the census, particularly when substantial changes in methods are contemplated. He wished them all success in their respective areas and in due course he hoped to visit them.

Extract from the address by Dr. K. G. K. E. Raja, Assistant Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India.

In our public health studies mortality rates for specific age periods and for the two sexes are important, because many diseases have a selective age and sex incidence. For instance, measles, whooping cough, diptheria are all diseases of childhood while the incidence of cancer becomes significantly high only after 35. For our purposes it is therefore desirable to have some idea of the range of error in the statements of age recorded at the census. The correct estimation of the age of an individual is a difficult task and, unless the information is forthcoming from the person himself, will necessitate elaborate processes of examination and, even then, the estimate figure is likely to show some margin of error from the actual age. A certain amount of check ought to be possible in the provinces of Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces and Delhi, where Health Units have been working for some time, and where through the co-operation of the special health staff, such an investigation can be carried out among the people of these areas. The average population in each Health Unit is 40,000 and as these areas are widely separated, the people surveyed may be taken to be samples of some of the larger ethnic groups among the population of India. Another advantage is that the health staff is in close contact with the people and should therefore be able to secure their co-operation. There are health visitors, midwives and lady doctors on the staff of these Health Units and their services should be particularly valuable for the survey of the female population.

I have only instanced age as one of the items of information on whose checking the services of the public health staffs of health units may be usefully employed. Apart from the checking of the accuracy of age returns, it would be equally possible to make use of the same agency for collecting information in regard to blindness and other useful subjects. For instance, the number of bed-ridden people can be enumerated as a rough estimate of invalidity among the population. It is true that one of the functions of these health organisations should be that of continuously collecting all types of information which have a bearing on the well-being of the people. In fact, the patient accumulation of socially useful information, which all branches of administration can and should undertake, is a task which the census cannot perform. However, as I have already pointed out, it is not desirable to lose the opportunity that the 1941 census affords for stimulating research and for associating with this national decennial stock-taking as many types of organisations as can be brought in with advantage. The suggested survey in the Health Unit Areas need not take place during the census operations. It can be carried out more leisurely three or four weeks after the census. I recognise that, in relation to the total enumerated population of India, the information relating to age collected for about 160,000 population distributed over four separate areas may not be of much significance. But a beginning will have been made in making a scientific approach towards the study of the probable range of error in the information recorded at the census and this is by no means a small gain.

for the proper presentation of the fertility figures collected at the 1941 census, we must have some indication of the length of married life. I realise that it will be difficult to obtain correct information regarding the age of co-habitation. But the age of the married woman at the birth of the first child is being obtained. This is helpful. But it would also be necessary to have information regarding the average period intervening between co-habitation and the birth of the first child and to base our estimate of this period on objective evidence as provided by carefully collected data. It is for consideration whether this information cannot be collected during the proposed enquiries in Health Unit areas. It is also for consideration whether small scale investigations cannot be instituted for this purpose in a few centres in different parts of the country. In my opinion Kerala in Southwest Madras should prove suitable as one of the centres of investigation, because of the relatively high degree of literacy of the population and of the absence of *purdah*. The selection of suitable persons for the collection of the information will also have to be considered.

Lastly I submit for the consideration of this conference the desirability of some permanent organisation for ensuring that the experience gained from census to census is preserved. The census can only be considered as a special effort, at definite intervals, for the collection of certain types of useful information. But a continuous study of social problems is being increasingly recognised as an important function of governments and, as most of the administrative functions in the sphere of the health and general well-being of the people are now entrusted to provincial governments, it seems proper that this organisation should be set up in the provinces. A provincial bureau of statistics will draw upon all the available resources, both in men and money, for research into social problems. If this bureau is also entrusted with the task of the provincial census it can so regulate the collection of information at the census as to supplement the material collected by the more detailed investigations into various problems during the intercensal period.

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